While doing this they can feel the uterus and determine each time how much it has been enlarged. 843

Pregnant women sometimes tie a leather band, do-mrob, around their body to prevent the abdomen from drooping. [252]

They do not say anything themselves definite about the sex of the expected child. They suspect a boy when the opening of the uterus is broad.

The child is not considered living until it is seven months along. [761] ●
They are well oriented about the position of the child in the uterus. They distinguish precisely whether the back of the child is turned towards that of the mother, and correspondingly, the forehead of the child is facing the abdominal wall of the mother. One can therefore say that they distinguish readily the first and second head position (each in its most customary sub-type). They know that these positions are the only normal ones.

It can be assumed from the above that they recognize abnormal positions but they do not correct them either before or during birth. [814]
Inserting the hand into the vagina to examine it is unknown.

The pregnant woman does not have to follow a special diet. They [262]
are only careful to avoid constipation because that makes delivery more difficult and hinders the lochia from discharging.

Precautionary rules of another kind are linked with the deeply rooted belief in the "mistakes" of pregnant women. The stories that the Hottentot women tell correspond in principle with those of the women of our race. As is characteristic for a pastoral people a pregnant woman who still honors the customs of her parents may not be present when an animal is slaughtered; otherwise her child would be born with a slit throat. The woman may not do anything on the mat house with her arms raised up high, in order to protect her child from being strangled by the umbilical cord.

Their ideas about the location of the embryo in the body are in remarkable contrast to their good anatomical knowledge [217] of animals. 843 826
According to their belief, conception occurs in the bladder, //kxuro-s.
A second bladder forms there in which the embryo is enclosed. The uterus is merely an appendage of the embryo, which disintegrates during the ejection of the water, tsa/mu-b, the afterbirth and blood. It grows again during the next pregnancy. Because of this opinion they often have one word for the uterus and the afterbirth, //hâs. More enlightened ones distinguish the two, calling the uterus //hâs, "that which stays in the mother" and the afterbirth in our sense, ghôa. They often explain

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama
Cape Hottentots

the */naras* and *tsama* are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the */naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of */Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *soloa*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Namas the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

[1] Op. cit., [illegible].

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Cape Hottentots

and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites.[1] This taboo was apparently associated with the myth connecting the hare with the origin of death, which we have already met with among the Bushmen also. Even this restriction, however, seems now to have lapsed. The older writers on the Cape Hottentots mention several other food restrictions in addition to that on the hare. Thus, according to Graevenbroeck, wild pigs, hyenas, lions, and other carnivorous animals were regarded as impure and not fit to be eaten. It was also "deemed unlawful" to taste butter and eggs, while only children were permitted to nourish themselves upon sheep's milk, which was looked upon as dangerous to adults.[2] Kolb, again, states that pig's flesh and fish without scales were forbidden, by custom to both sexes; that the men only might not eat the hare or the rock rabbit, or drink the milk of sheep, while the women, on the other hand, were forbidden the "pure blood of beasts" and the flesh of the mole.[3] Thunberg, again, says that the men never drank milk that had been drawn by women[4]—a statement which may be compared with Albrecht's report that many orthodox Naman believe their cows will give no milk if the women were to drink cows' milk, since this is "good only for the men", hence the women must content themselves with the milk of the sheep and goats.[5] It is questionable how far these statements can be accepted as entirely accurate, but they seem at least to suggest that there must have been some special regulations regarding the drinking of milk. Unfortunately there is no other information at all to throw further light upon this important point. Finally, even at the present time, according to Vedder, "a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyena, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing."[6]

As narcotics the Hottentots formerly used infusions of various legumes and herbs. Even to-day the capsules of *Elladium virgatum E. Mey.* and the seeds of *Acacia hebeclada D.C.* are still roasted, ground down, and brewed with water. But increasing familiarity with the tea and especially the coffee introduced by the Europeans

[1] Cf. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, 318-9; Wikar, "Beitrag aus . . . Plettenberg," 118-19; Olpp, "Aus dem Siegeszuge des Elias-Klosters," 46-7.
[2] "Uit den Oosten Tijd," 364.
[3] Op. cit., 96-7.
[4] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42.
[5] "Reisebeschreibungen im Gross-Namalande," 203.
[6] "The Native," 149.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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CHAPTER XIII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death, Burial, and Mourning

In dealing with the social, economic, and political life of the Hottentots, we have had occasion to notice in various connections ceremonies and beliefs of a ritual character. For example, all the observances and avoidances centring in the conception of *//aun*, as well as the rites and beliefs developed round hunting and war, really form part of the magico-religious or sacred aspect of Hottentot life. But they are so intimately associated with more profane activities that to discuss them separately would have been to divorce them from their proper context in native life, and thus to overlook their real significance. The beliefs and usages relating to death, on the other hand, lead more directly to a consideration of religion, since this supreme and final crisis in human life is one of the most important sources for the Hottentot conceptions of supernatural agencies.

The coming of death into the world is related by the Hottentots in a myth which varies but slightly from that told by the Bushmen. The Moon, it is said, once sent the louse to Men, saying, "Go to Men, and tell them, 'As I die and dying live, so you shall also die and dying live.'" The louse started with the message, but on its way was overtaken by the Hare, who asked on what errand it was bound. The louse repeated to him the message of the Moon. Then the Hare said, "As you are an awkward runner, let me take the message." With these words he ran off, and when he reached Men, he said, "I am sent by the Moon to tell you, 'As I die and dying perish, in the same manner you shall also die and come wholly to an end.'" Then he returned to the Moon, and told him what he had said to Men. The Moon thereupon angrily reproached him, saying, "Did you dare to tell the people a thing I did not say?" and taking up a piece of wood he struck the Hare on the lip. Since that day the hare's lip is split. There are several other variants of this myth, but in all of them the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon. Its flesh is consequently forbidden to men: "We are now angry with the hare," say the old

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Hottentots, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore we dislike to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being *//Gaunab*, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy them," or to the */hai /aun*, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave. The */gei aogu* or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by *//Gaunab*, or the */Hai /Nun*, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow automatically on the violation of certain ritual observances or avoidances, and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of */nau*. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

[1] Native texts of the myth are published in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 170–2 and Schultze, *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 448–9; translated versions in Wilser, "Beiträge zum Nama," 118–19; Bleek, *Report on the Past in S. Africa*, 69–73; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz, "Die Hottenten Reisebeschreiben über D.S.W.A.," 1915, p. 213.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 83–4; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 317–20 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 320–1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 87.

[4] "South-West Africa," 27.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

775 sons, do not now move the kraal or even the hut of the dead person after a death has taken place among them; but we have already noted an illustration that the same belief exists among them, in the rites to be performed when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. The ghosts of the //naos, the ancestors, haunt the place, and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. So, too, when a man goes visiting relatives elsewhere he must be specially protected from the ghosts of that locality.[1] Vedder describes the same belief in somewhat different form when he says: "He who treads on a grave, passes on unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger, has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge."[2]

These remarks show that the attitude of the living towards the ghost is on the whole one of dread. Nowadays, says Mrs. Hoernlé, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the /*kai* /*nan*, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. "If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /*kai* /*nan* would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them."[3]

[761] [753] Underlying this dread is the belief that the /*kai* /*nan*, the ghosts, cause most of the sickness and death, either in themselves, or through the ǂ*gui aogu*, the magicians.[4] Often, when a man has died, he [85] appears to a member of his family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes, he will say, //*gâa oai*, /*uri* /*kêp* /*gâiba sa go ma*, "no flesh, a white bone alone I saw." The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them—one of the family will die. Again, when people are alone the /*kai* /*nan* come chasing them, "and I have had many an instance given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek [illegible] I found the /*kai* /*nan* were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag

[1] V. above, p. 289.
[2] Op. cit., 516. A similar custom indicating great fear of skeletons is recorded by Lichtenstein, *Reisen im Südlichen Afrika*, ii. 33-4.
[3] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Vedder, op. cit., 87.
[4] "The Nama," 133.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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urned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organised family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */kai /aun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Heave* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely identified with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaua* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term *//Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//Gaunab in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die ältesten Religionen," 197.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon-light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up here and there.

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances.

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves conspicuously, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place and covered the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heinah, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entrusted his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing
[682] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called "the
782 little heart-tree" is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called "Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Nama

might take them more or less for granted, that is to say, as Professor Brown puts it, " he does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly, through the belief impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger."* And, further, I would stress, that this same protective thing is dangerous apart from the full social life. It is not claimed that the leaders of the tribe have wittingly used these means to make the individuals in it appreciate the blessings they have, but an analysis of primitive ceremonial enables us to conclude that this is the psychological basis of many of the customs, and that they are the means used to maintain the cohesion of the tribe, by making its members realise that to society they owe the things of value they have, so that they are willing to keep up the old customs and traditions on which it is believed the well-being of the whole depends. "So that the protective uses of such things," says Professor Brown, " are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question."† Things which are useful to the community, important for its existence, come to partake, as it were, of the strength of the community, and by this power they afford protection to its members.

Let us first consider the protective power of water. Among the Topnaars of Walvis Bay and the Zwartboys of Franzfontein, and probably among all the Naman, cold water is, or was formerly, thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. The reason given me was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the seventies of last century was that it " cooled the soul of the departed."‡ Further, when the people return from the grave to the kraal, all the inmates, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, and cold water is sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. In itself the washing of the hands with water might not be significant, especially as each person is obliged by custom to pick up handfuls of earth and throw them into the grave, and one might suppose that they were merely washing the dust off, but we have noted that the near relatives do not touch the water, and, further, the reason given for the washing on the part of the other inmates is that they would get sick if they did not do so. The cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.

Now, one of the great dreads of the Naman is the /Hei /Kûn, the ghosts which hover over the graves, or ooze from them, and who formerly were thought to cause most of the sickness among

* *Ibid.*, p. 284.
† *Ibid.*, p. 284.
‡ *Tsuni-/Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoin*, T. Hahn, p. 113.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

753 774 761 the Naman, either themselves, or through the !Gèi Aogu, the medicine men. Nowadays, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the /Heí /Nûn, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is in there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /Heí /Nûn would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them. When people are alone the /Heí /Nûn come chasing them, and I have had many an instance given me of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the /Heí /Nûn were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them. Further, old Christian, a Bondelzwart, told me that often when a man has died he appears to a member of the family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes he will say, " //Gân osi, !uri ǂkóp gúiba ta go mu " (no flesh, a white bone alone I saw). The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them; one of the family will die.* Relatives, then, especially near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people. They are likely to sicken and die, and it is from the /Heí /Nûn that this sickness and danger are thought to come. These relatives must go through a much longer process of purification which will be mentioned later on,* but the ordinary inmates, as we have seen, protect themselves immediately by the use of cold water.

823 821 [753] The next instance of the protective use of water will make the first one clearer. When a whirlwind, a Sarés, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. Did they not take this precaution someone would surely die. I have exact statements that this is so among the Topnaars, the Zwartboys, the Rooi Natie, three of the aboriginal tribes of Great Namaqualand. This is the description that old //Kabib, the Topnaar, gave me. " In the old days when a whirlwind came by, the people would shout, ' Phu—u, hé re, taés ǂâ hã kun !kun !kun phu—u ' (Phu—u, *please depart, what do you seek here, go, go, go,* phu—u) and cold water would be quickly fetched and sprinkled in its path. ' This expression, phu—u, is used only by the Topnaars, so far as I know, among the Naman, and the other tribes say the Topnaars got it from the Klip Kafirs or Hau Khoin. Of its exact significance when used by the Klip Kafirs I have at present no information, but by the Topnaars it is often used when making a solemn address of this kind.

* See p. 524.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928

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direction it will act as an emetic; should it be cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative. The Fleer-boom, also, is used in this manner. Purgatives have a strange fascination for the Native, and for pains in the stomach or " fevers " they have been used to " work them out," that is, a tangible removal must always, they argue, be productive of good, for they firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something.

Rule of thumb methods prevailed in treatment, and the lore was handed down from father to son. In the beginning, man noticed that when he awakened in the morning he felt at his best, worked, or hunted better than later in the day; slackened and grew tired as the sun sank beneath the western horizon. Then he jumped to the conclusion that the rising of the sun was responsible for well-being, growth, and strength; and that the falling, setting sun was responsible for tiredness, failing strength and death. Therefore, the old tooth was thrown towards the rising sun, but a P/gai aup or witch doctor would throw it towards the setting sun to produce an evil effect. A fright was something tangible, and Nama women still by palpation diagnose the presence of a lump, a crystallised fright that has settled in the stomach. They state too, that the woman's " life place " resides on the right side, and that when she is sickly it moves about.

From the details of this herbal lore it appears that the chief medical ailments treated by the Hottentots were pains in the stomach and fevers, classed together as " fires," and distinguished only by locality, flatulence as an entity, diarrhoea, and among the accidental injuries, burns. Several specific complaints had specific treatment. Kolben described the treatment of headache by shaving the head with a sharp knife, leaving furrows between the mounds of hair. If the cause was supposed to be a " wind in the head," then massage was applied to the nape of the neck; and snuff of " dooa," which smells of garlic (asafoetida) was used. A case occurred during 1923 in Namaqualand of scarification of the temples as treatment for madness. Old writers mention this as the means whereby pains were let out. Infantile convulsions must have given the old women much work. A favourite prescription for this complaint was, and still is, Stink kruit leaves, the dried kidney of the D/aie jackal, and the sea bean, whatever that may be. Of these a powder is made which is worked into a linen band (in old days, a strip of hide) and fastened round the neck of the small patient. Small doses are then given internally mixed with mother's milk. The treatment is continued for one moon.

Alternating periods of famine and feast upset many stomachs. When excess was recognised to be the cause of his discomfort, the Hottentot took the juice of aloes in warm broth. The leaves to-day are dried and chopped up as required.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Heaven thickens and gathers its airy brows into a frown so that the thunder peals or the red bolt falls crashing down or lightnings flash, then they say the Great Chief is angry.[42]) Or if one of their friends is killed in battle by our men, and one of the survivors is threatened with the same death, in broken Dutch he cries out: „Dat is doet: Was makom? Duytsman altyt kallom: Icke Hottentots doot makom: Mashy doot, Icke strack nae onse groote Kapiteyn toe, die man my soon witte Boeba geme." Which words may be thus rendered: "Come! What are you doing? Dutchmen always say: I will kill Hottentots. Well, kill! If I die, I shall go straight to our Great Chief. He will give me white oxen." These they regard as sacred ornaments of their herds.

But when the sun shines clear, they say: "Bravas com Kapiteyn, die Kapiteyn ons van witte boeba geme." That is, "Great is that Chief who will give us white oxen." But these words they pronounce perhaps only when asked. Their ordinary worship seems to agree with almost all the pagans of antiquity, among whom the Egyptians were the first to adopt the opinion that the Sun and Moon are gods. To the Sun they offer this worship, that at his rising and setting they gaze on him with dreadful cursings[43]). Sometimes they sit down by a river and from the nearest clay they make whole mounds of little balls which, with a great noise, they hurl into the water: this they allege they do in honour of the sun. The moon, as has been said, they worship by dancing.

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[42]) Hahn quotes from Baar (1871) the following statement: "One does not know what kind of religion they have, but early, when the day dawns, they assemble and take each other by the hands and dance, and call out in their language towards the heavens," upon which he comments: "This is nothing else but the *Tsui-||goab* worship" (*Tsuni-||goam*, pp. 66, 82); adding further on (*op. cit.*, 134) "when the day dawns the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face turned towards the East: 'Oh, Tsu||goa, All-Father'". In the light of this evidence, it is apparent that Ten Rhyne is mistaken in regarding the "worship" he records as directed towards the sun; its object is rather *Tsui-||goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. (Cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 378 ff.)

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

which, according to his belief, will soon bring the animal down. A hunter also may not sleep on his back, and pull his legs up, so that his knees stand bent up into the air. If he has done so he is sure to have bad luck.

19. About a future life there are certain indications, from the following sayings:—"That the "Stars are the eyes of the deceased," and also that the Stars are the souls of the deceased. The Khoikhoi appear to connect "eye" and "soul" in the same way, as is expressed in German, "Das Auge ist der Spiegel der Seele." The eye is the reflector of the soul. There is also a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the Star of my grandfather." This proves, beyond doubt, the belief in a life after this.

20. Ghosts and spectres have various names. ǁGaunagu (msc. plur.), ǀHaiǀnugu (msc. plur.), Sobokhoin (com. plur.), and ǀHai-khoin (com. plur.). There is a saying: ǁNaña ǁgauna ta ni—*i.e.*, I will hear it, if I am a ǁgauna—this means, if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand.

Also, if a person has lost something and cannot find it, they say: ǀHaiǀnub ke ǀā, Fawnfoot has stolen it.

21. These ghosts and spectres are believed in dark nights to leave the graves and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. This kind of spectres goes by the special name of ǀhausan. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death.

Here we have the key to the original meaning of the word ǁGaunah. He was at first a ghost, a mischief-maker and evil-doer, whose greatest aim was to harm people and to destroy (ǁgau, ǁgou) them. Some people are said to die from the influence of this evil spirit, and these are called ǁgauna ǁōra khoin—*i.e.*, people who died the ǁgauna death, or devil's death. Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 vultures and hyenas, they are also considered ǁgauna
775 ǁōra. A man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
761 slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave
766 killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—
all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, *so that they will be entirely annihilated*, they are also considered ǁgauna ǁora khoin.

838 There is also a cruel custom among the Khoikhoi, of which I have convinced myself—that is, to leave elderly people to their fate; some food and water is left with them, and the younger folks remove to another spot. Inquiring into the reason of this so repulsive practice, I was told that it sometimes was done by very poor people, who had not food enough to support the aged parents. But sometimes, even if there was food enough, and if
[754] people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of ǁGaunab, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them.

776 It is, therefore, not strange that ǁGaunab, the evil-spirit, is also invoked. They promised him offerings so as not to provoke his anger, as is the case among the ǂAnni-Nama, in the Walefish Bay territory. I am almost certain that, before the Khoikhoi-tribes separated, this bad Being, ǁGaunab, was generally worshipped, and is of much older date than Tsûiǁgoab and Heitsi-eibib. It
[171] is strange that the ǃGabe-Bushmen, the ǃAi-Bushmen, the ǃNunin, and especially among these the Heiǂguin (or wooden noses), all know ǁGauna, whom they fear as an evil-doer, while we find no trace of the name Tsûiǁgoab or Heitsi-eibib. For these reasons I am of opinion that the ǁGauna was an evil demon, known already to the primitive Hottentot race, before there was a distinction between Sân and Khoikhoin. Tsûiǁgoab, however, was a secondary Being, the national God of the Khoikhoi branch.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǁGauna, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǁGuana; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǃGamiǂnus, on the banks of the Geiǁb